1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

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Once upon a time the god of Lauthala (some say the two Matangi Women) went from Lauthala to Tonga and there found a fish called *yawa* which the god (*tupua*) in Tonga fed. This fish lives in marshy places and eats mud. The god of Lauthala stole it because the people refused them when he asked for them. He wrapped one male and one female in a leaf of taro and came away. "So you refused me the fish," said he, "I shall carry it off to Lauthala." He was delighted. He landed in Vanua Mbalavu towards Mavana. The old woman of Mavana said, "What have you got wrapped up there, my lord of Lauthala?"

Said he, "Drinking water."

Said she, "Let me drink, please."

He refused, "No, you shall not drink." She broke off a *Dracaena* stem, and struck the leaf, and tore it so that the two fishes fell and the water was spilt. He grasped the leaf, but only held mud, and departed. When he poured it out in Lauthala there was only mud, no water or fish. "Alack!" he said, "the two fishes I had wrapped up have fallen out." Now therefore Lauthala is all mud, but the *yawa* is in Mavana; it is their netting fish (*ika tanga*).

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The following account regarding fishing tapu has been given:

There are owners of the fish, namely the heralds. Eroni Mbotei is their elder: he is the priest of the goddess (*alewa tevoro*). People cannot catch fish without his consent. They net the fish every three years [one informant says four]. They call the fishing *uli*, that is to stir. They may not stir without leave. The people of Mavana offer up kava to Eroni saying, "Here is kava. It is our wish that the *yawa* be stirred this year for our Christmas feast."

He says, "It is well." Then they tell it in the village, but secretly so that the other villages may not know. Then on the appointed day they go to the *yawa* pond. The names of all the houses (*yavu ni vale*) are found on the banks of the water; here they build huts with coconut leaves. The women plait leaves of *Dracaena* (*tombe fi*); no other leaf is allowed because the old woman used the stalk of a *Dracaena*. After two nights in the evening Eroni says, "Jump into the water." They jump in and stir up the mud only a little, lest the fish die in the night; before nightfall they come out again. At dawn they again jump in. At eight o'clock Eroni comes out of the hut and cries, "The ship from Tonga has arrived" (*Sa uru a wangga mai tooonga*). Then the fish jump about; they strive after clean water. Then the Mavanans spear the fish with a pointed stick with a tail of coir. The first few are set down as a sacrifice (*i singana*) to Erone. Then they start spearing fish as they like. All the other fish in the pond die to keep the *yawa* company (*me i loloku*). If Eroni is angry, and the *yawa* are short of breath he goes and looks at the pond, and all the fish disappear. One part of the bank is called Korolevu; if any one fails to spear a fish he is said to come out at Korolevu. Then the oven is prepared. The village headman sets aside twenty or so for the Tui Mavana. When they are brought to Nasima Sau, the Tui Mavana makes gifts which is called "the piercing of the fish's eye" (*a thula ni mata ni ika*), and the people of Mavana make a portion for each man. When the fish is cooked they return to the village. Each one takes in a gift called *vakavura*, "causing to appear," to his relations in all the villages as far as Lomaloma; the relations make them gifts.

BUILDING

The House

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The structure of the house is illustrated in figures 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 and Plate III, *A*, *B*. I will mention here only the details that are not apparent.

The rafters and reepers consist of laths of coconut palms taken from the outer surface with the bark. They are placed with the inner side under-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

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778 sented to them nothing further could be done until the matter had been reported to the Lemaki. If he said, "All right, don't kill the thief," they carried two large pieces of bark cloth to the center of the village waving them about (*yalovakina*). Then they tied the bark cloth on sticks which they stuck like flags outside the temple. Then the two old men went inside and saw the souls of the thieves come and stand at the door. Next morning they informed the Lemaki, who told the owner. The thieves then prepared a feast and gifts, and brought them to the temple. If not, they died. If the owner decided they should die he would ask the priest to take the bark cloth into the house of the god, and then they all died in the morning; they howled away and died: the god devoured them. In that case the owner brought gifts to the Lemaki. To make them die, the cloth might also be nailed in a canoe or in a building.

776 There were many small gods (*kalou*) whose names were not even known. There were gods belonging to villages, gods belonging to clans, but no gods of individuals.

There are many stories of personages who are commonly referred to as *tupua*, sometimes as *tevoro*, but whose names are not known. Beyond the legends nothing appears to be known of them at the present day.

● 775 Tarukua is the only village that has no water. This is why. There was a *tupua* of Kendekende, and a *tupua* of Tarukua. In the course of time the one of Kendekende devised by what means canoes could get to Kendekende. So one day he took a whale's tooth and took it to the god of Tarukua, and proposed that they should dig a canal or ditch from Kendekende to Tarukua to reach the sea, so that when canoes came in they could anchor right at Kendekende. So the god of Tarukua went to dig in Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende dug in Kendekende. They dug on and they almost met at the top of the Great Marsh (Sosolevu): the god of Kendekende came on one side, and the god of Tarukua came on the other, when the cock crowed. The god of Tarukua said, "Good-bye; I am going."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take your share of the feast."

The god of Tarukua said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

The god of Kendekende said, "Come and take some sugar-cane."

But he said, "I won't; it is day; I might be seen."

So he ran to Tarukua, and the god of Kendekende ran to Kendekende; they ran in different directions. It dawned and so they did not finish what the god of Kendekende had planned. The place that remains unfinished is a narrow ridge just wide enough at the top for a one man path, connecting the two hills and dividing Tavaungo valley from the Great Marsh. The top looks as though it might be artificial, and it is quite possible that it was built up to make the path easier. The reason why the cutting was not finished is that the god of Kendekende was busy making a feast; that is why his part is short, while the god of Tarukua's is long.

Another story relates that Tui Sosolevu was angry and speared the god of Tarukua. A third version is that the god of Tarukua began the ditch because Tarukua is waterless. He had nearly finished when the god of Kendekende saw him, took a stick, threw at him and hit him; so the god of

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Tarukua ran away. That is why Tarukua is still waterless. Kendekende 773
is the source of the stream.

In Tarukua they tell the following story: The *tupua* of the Lakemban villages went to steal the water of Kendekende. They went at night when day was drawing near. They each of them carried a water bottle. When they reached the spring the god of Tumbou, the owner of the spring, was not in sight; so they filled their water bottles. When they had filled them, the owner of the spring arrived. Then the god of Tumbou was very angry and drove them away, and the god of Tarukua ran, and ran fast, because he was glad that he had got water. He tripped over a big stone, as it was still night, and fell down flat, and his water bottle rolled away, and was cracked, and all the water was spilt, and so there is still no water in Tarukua at the present day. The various gods went and poured out the water in some places, and so there is plenty of water there to the present day.

Another story relates:

The people of Kendekende (it is not said that they were *tupua*) sailed to Naiau. There they found the bird called *kaisevau*, and they could not sleep because of its noise. When they were about to return, Tui Lakemba said, "You men of Naiau, go and catch the *kaisevau*." The people of Naiau, who were then very numerous, caught them, put them in baskets and landed at Wanggatalatha. The chief met them on the beach and told them to dig an oven; so they dug one large and one small one, which are still to be seen a little beyond Wanggatalatha just off the road. The chief on being told that the oven was dug, ordered to light it. The chief thought that they would throw the birds on the oven inside their baskets; but the people opened the baskets and poured out the *kaisevau* into the oven. They all flew away. Therefore the chief drove some of the people away and they are now in Tonga. The people of Lakemba were foolish to dig a huge oven thinking the *kaisevau* to be a big bird, whereas it is quite small, so that their labor was wasted.

Another version states that the birds were brought from Nukunuku, where they are plenty among the mangrove trees. This is probably not a fairy tale (*tala tupua*), since the evidence is there (*sa tu na kena i vakandinandina*); it may be true.

I received several accounts of places inhabited by spirits:

There is an island called Mburotu. It is the land of spirits (*tevoro*), namely, spirit women. It lies within the sea, and is not seen above. If it is about to emerge at any place and a boat is in the offing, it sinks again; if it sinks the swirl of it rises up. A Totoya boat came near it but it sank again, and a red coconut spathe (*mbarawa kula*) was cast into the boat. If the women of Matuku go out at low tide, at dawn they find red reeds that come from Mburotu.

There is a cave in Munia with two rocks, male and female; the breasts are visible on the female. These stones are memorials that Koroimbo lay with his wife.

There are also Children of Water in Munia. They are small and have white skins. They appear to women when they go to fish.

Tutumatua was in Munia with the god (*tevoro*) who lives in the Lomaloma passage. They were gathering coconuts. The other god said to Tutumatua, "What can you do? Climb or husk nuts?"

"Both," said Tutumatua, and climbed the trees and picked nearly a thousand nuts of a kind so hard that it can only be husked with an axe. They had no stick to husk them so the other god husked them on Tutumatua's penis. It hurt Tutumatua, who fled and said he would not be found again in Munia. It is supposed Tutumatua fell from heaven; he is Beelzebub.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

of it, and the rest was distributed among the people. Tui Oneata originally came from 776
Nakauvandra in heathen times. The reef is his path: Mbukatatanoa, Vanua Masi; he passes on the further side of Lase Viti and Lase Tonga, goes to Olorua, Katavanga, Malevuvu, Thikombia i Lau, Nasavasara, Wailangilala, Rambe, Thikombia i Ra, Mathuata, Nambainivualiku, Yasawa, Nakauvandra.

Tui Oneata has two nephews (*vasu*) in the village: they live in two stones. They are known as Vasu i Tui Oneata. If they carry off a child he does not recover; the people learn from the priest that he cannot live because the nephews have taken his soul; people pray to them but in vain. The people used to be afraid of touching the stones.

Tui Oneata once went to Lakemba. The god of Lakemba, Tui Tumbou's god, was in heaven, so his house in Tarukua was empty. Tui Oneata lay with Thangandua, his wife, but she spilt the scented oil so that the smell reached to heaven. The god of Lakemba said, "There is someone in my house." He came down to his village. What he did is not related, but his wife made a present of mullets to Tui Oneata, since when there are scarcely any in Lakemba, but many come to Oneata.

Longaniu have a god called Nawa; his temple was in Ndakuiloa; his priest was called Ko Nambetekotonga (The Tongan priest).

When the king of Tonga used to come, his people hung chestnut leaves on their necks; they brought soil from Tonga (*ta nggele mai*); they cooked yams and pigs; the priest shook and fell down; then he ate of the pigs and yams; after which the Lord of Tonga could proceed to Fiji. Fijians did not pray to Nawa.

An account relates why there were no mosquitoes in Oneata, while there 773
were in Kambara.

The ancestor-god of Oneata, Wakulikuli slept. The ancestor-god of Kambara, Mberewalaki, came to Oneata and said, "Would you like my insects?"

The god of Oneata said, "What insects?"

The god of Kambara said, "My alarm."

The god of Oneata said, "Go and fetch them."

The god of Kambara went to get them and wrapped them in a young plantain leaf. The god of Oneata went to the marsh in Oneata and gave the *keketwa* to the god of Kambara. The god of Oneata opened the plantain leaf and all the mosquitoes flew out. He went to sleep, but the mosquitoes kept biting him; he awoke. "The god of Kambara is indeed a knave," he said. He pursued the god of Kambara, and said to him, "You are a knave!"

The god of Kambara said, "Why?"

The god of Oneata said, "Inasmuch as you gave me the mosquitoes. Where are my *keketwa?*"

The god of Kambara said, "Go and look for them."

The god of Oneata went, but did not find them. So the mosquitoes remained in Oneata. At the present day there are plenty of *keketwa* shells in the marsh, but no flesh in them: the flesh is in Kambara.

TAUVU

The word *tauvu* is derived from *vu* (origin, ancestor, god). The prefix 60
tau—in Thakaundrove forms collective kinship terms like *vei*—in Lauan only without the aid of the suffix *ni;* thus "brothers" in the Thakaundrove dialect is *tautathi,* in Lauan *veitathini.* The word *"tauvu"* therefore means "related as gods." The word has come, however, to have the force of a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

601 simple kindship term: a man will speak of another as "my *tauvu*" (*nggou tauvu*), and a collective *veitauvu* has been formed from this, and from this again has been formed a verb *veitauvutaki* which means to behave or to be as one man to his *tauvu*.

602 [776] The relation of *tauvu* is commonly defined as having common spirits (*tevoro vata*) or having common gods (*vu vata*). The behaviour of people who are *tauvu* to one another is described thus:

> They abuse one another and do not resent it, men and women, it is all one. When they meet they say, "The orphan," or "the body fit to bake is coming." When they have done abusing one another they talk nicely. If a stranger comes into the village and as a [826] joke strokes or ruffles the head of a native the people of that village know he must be a *tauvu* because the head is a respected part of the body. Cross-cousins are like people *tauvu* to one another: they may joke obscenely. The custom of *tauvu* is like that of *vasu*, for if a man goes to a place which is *tauvu* to him he can slaughter pigs and fowls for his own use without asking leave.

602 621 Lakemba, apart from the nobles, has the following *tauvu*: Wainikeli in Taveuni; the island of Mbengga; some village of Koro, no one knew which; and Namara, near Mbau. When, however, these relationships are looked into they are found really to belong to particular clans in Tumbou, but they have extended more or less to the whole island.

The real *tauvu* of the nobles and of all Katumbalevu is Notho, near Rewa. Notho is really the *tauvu* of Naiau; the nobles being from Naiau have the same *tauvu*. (For the story, see p. 212.)

The other *tauvu* are not *tauvu* of the nobles only because they are *tauvu* of the landsmen (*koira a Vanua*), that is, Valelailai, Thekena, Tumbou. Emosi declares that Valelailai alone has *tauvu* because they were owners of the god Tui Lakemba; Wainikeli, Mbengga, Koro, and Namara are *tauvu* because of him; he went to those places. Semi of Tumbou admits that the clan that has most *tauvu* is Narewandamu, and that Emosi ought to know because his father lived long in Wainikeli and Namara. The Wainikeli people themselves name Narewandamu as their *tauvu*; the others are not disputed except Mbengga which Tui Tumbou claims as his. Poasa tells the following legend about Mbengga:

773 774 The daughter of Tui Lakemba was Raluve. She climbed a *mamba* tree. This goddess then flew like a bird. She reached right up to heaven and came down to Mbengga, where she married Tui Mbengga, the god (*vu*) of Mbengga. She had a child in Mbengga, and so she had descendants in Mbengga. The Mbenggans are descendants of the female, while Lakembans are descendants of the male; Lakemba and Mbengga are therefore cross-cousins, and this cross-cousinship is called *veitauvutaki*.

602 621 Waitambu is subject to Thekena because they have common spirits (*kalou*), common gods (*vu*). It was never said that they were *tauvu* to Thekena.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

LEGENDS AND HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

THITHIA ISLAND

773 Everyone agreed that there were two brothers in Vanandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau, one in Nukunuku.

539 The following accounts are gathered in Lakemba:

Of old there were three chiefs in Lakemba: one in Nasangalau, one in Nukunuku, and one in Tumbou. Though none was subject, yet Nasangalau was chief. In those days a big fish of the kind called *sangga* was caught in Nasangalau. The head was taken ashore and the tail thrown away. They made an oven in Nasangalau. The god (*tupua*) of Tumbou went there and stole the head of the fish and brought it away. The people of Nasangalau ran after them to snatch it away. They seized it and hung it up in a house, and an old man kept watch over it. The god of Tumbou then went and deceived him, saying, "Those working at the oven ask that the head of the fish be brought to be baked."

The old man said, "It is hanging on the wall."

The god of Tumbou carried it off to Tumbou. The men of Nasangalau sent for the head.

The old man said, "It has been taken to the oven."

They said, "Who came and took it?"

The old man said, "A young man."

They knew immediately it was the god of Tumbou and ran after him. They reached Nambanggele which is the frontier of Tumbou and Nasangalau. The god of Tumbou said, "Let us stand on a mat."[76] If you come to my side I will kill you." So the men of Nasangalau came to a stand. The god brought the head of the fish, baked it, and when it was cooked said, "Men of Tumbou, come and eat: we are chiefs."

As soon as it was night the god of Nasangalau brought a big rock to block the passage of Nandawa in Tumbou; but the god of Tumbou went out and cut a stalk of a creeper and laid it across the path. The god of Nasangalau came and tripped, and stumbled, and the rock crushed him so that he died. Then the god of Tumbou took a big rock and went to close the passage in Nasangalau. That is why Nasangalau has nothing but reef and there is no passage. So Tumbou became the chief village and the heads of *sangga* fish were brought there to be baked. The name of Nasangalau was previously Naseuvou, but was changed on account of the fish.

In the days of old there was a Tui Lakemba when Kendekende was a village. The Tui Lakemba and the Randini Lakemba had a daughter Sinatelangi, a maiden whose breasts were growing. She remained in the house being forbidden the sunshine. The gentlemen made feasts for her and the ladies brought collations. On day Randini Lakemba gave orders that the ladies should go and fish in Nandawa. Randini Lakemba also put out the mats and cloth to sun. As they were setting out she said, "Sinatelangi, keep watch on these things spread outside. If you sleep rain might fall and they would get wet."

And Sinatelangi said, "No, you can go." But Sinatelangi got underneath a blanket and fell fast asleep, and a big rain came down and flooded the things, so that they floated down to the shore. The ladies were busy fishing. The things drifted away to Nandawa and the Randini Lakemba saw them. She gave orders to go ashore and they went up to Kendekende. Sinatelangi was sleeping on; so her mother struck her and drove away.

Then Sinatelangi was angry and wept, and went on and on to the shore, and follow-

[76] A kind of game?

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

134 by extensive collecting from jungles and reefs, and by regular
222 fishing in the lagoons. Of the group, Fulanga has the least soil. The natives say this is because the first inhabitant of
[173] Fulanga was a hen. She had some chicks and when the chicks were hungry she said: "Why don't you scratch?" So they scratched and scratched and finally they scratched the bottom out of the land. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and
[103] the jagged pock-marked island is called Vanua Seu or scratched land.

773 Kambara differs from the other famine isles in that its
134 volcanic outcrop provides a limited amount of good garden land. When the great forefather god of the Kambara people arrived he looked over the whole island and saw nothing but rocks. So he thought to himself he would go to another island and steal a piece of land, for the gods love nothing better than to trick one another. He went to the islands of the Lau group, but each island was guarded by its own forefather god. Finally he arrived at Vatoa. The forefather of this island was asleep. So the forefather of Kambara dug
[823] up a piece of land. A spring gushed forth from the hole. He put the land into a basket and took it to Kambara. When he arrived he found that the people of Kambara had baked a piece of land he had previously stolen and made it useless for gardening. He was very angry and placed the land from Vatoa on the side of Kambara (instead of in the middle as on the volcanic islands). On all Kambara this is the only
[823] garden land, and when the water of the spring in Vatoa is dirty the people know yams are being planted on Kambara.

264 Provision for the evening meal is a daily problem requiring foresight and labor. The Lauans eat one main meal a day just after sundown when the day's work is done. The
252 main food consists of a carbohydrate (called "true food")
[262] such as manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit gathered, prepared, and steamed in the earth oven by the men. The earth oven is a pit in the ground in which the food is placed over hot

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Sea paradise". I saw a twinkle in the kindly eye of the village headman, but he paid no attention to my request and began preparations to erect the pavilion on the most frequented path from the village to the shore. It was cooler, he said. I became suspicious and finally one of the native boys hesitatingly confided that the lovely spot was used as the village privy. As at Tokalau, the whole beach near a native village is usually polluted in this part of the world. Hence the government is conducting an extensive campaign for soil sanitation. Latrines have been built near every village but are as yet rarely used.

There are no mosquitoes on Kambara, but on some neighboring islands, especially Fulanga and Oneata, mosquitoes are very troublesome. During the "hurricane" months on Fulanga each village moves at night to its own wind-swept islet in the central lagoon to avoid the swarms of mosquitoes which appear on the main island. The people of Naivindamu sleep in four temporary huts which have been built on the table top of a mushroom-shaped islet not more than 50 feet in diameter.

The people of Kambara say that in olden days Kambara had many mosquitoes but Oneata had none. Moreover, the *kekeo*, a delicious shellfish now prevalent in the lake at Wangava, was not found there but grew on the Oneata reef. Once the forefather god of Oneata visited Kambara. While lying under a mosquito curtain of barkcloth at night he heard the buzzing of mosquitoes outside. "What was that beautiful music I heard last night?" he asked the god of Kambara next morning. "It was the mosquitoes," said the god of Kambara. "Give me some mosquitoes to take back to the people of Oneata that they too may hear the beautiful sound," said the god of Oneata. "I will give you the mosquitoes," said the cunning god of Kambara, "if you will give me the *kekeo*, the shellfish of Oneata." "Good," said the god of Oneata, well pleased. He returned to Oneata and gathered

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and in front of him is the wooden bowl in which the drink is mixed. The root is crushed between stones and mixed with water, strained, and passed to the drinkers with prescribed movements and phases accompanied by the ceremonial clapping of hands.

Formerly on ordinary occasions the men wore only a short waist cloth made of barkcloth, and the women a fringe like a hula skirt made of strips of the soft inner bark of the hibiscus. Unmarried girls wore the briefest possible fringe. The area covered by this fringe was tattooed, so without her skirt a girl looked as though she were wearing a closely fitted pair of shorts, printed with geometric black designs on a brown background.

Tattooing was forbidden by the missionaries, and the last tattooed woman in Lau died a few years ago. According to old women, the tattooing process was extremely painful. It was done after the girl's first menstruation in three or four installments, and covered a period of a year or more. The operation was performed in a special tabu hut which the men jokingly called the "black bottom". An old woman known as a tattoo expert dipped an adz-like instrument pointed with a shark's tooth or fish bone into a black dye, placed the point on the skin and struck it with a wooden hammer. If the girl accepted lovers during the process the pain would increase. When it was over, her fingers and the corners of her mouth were tattooed to show that she was marriageable.

The men of Lau were never tattooed. According to an old tale, when the Tongans first visited Lau they were so pleased with the tattooed Lauan women that they resolved to introduce the custom into their own country so they sent a man back to Tonga with the message: "Tattoo the women but not the men." The messenger repeated his message over and over until when he arrived in Tonga he was saying: "Tattoo the men and not the women," and this explains why in Tonga the men and not the women are tattooed.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

423 471 council would break the land deadlock in Fiji. Whether or not the measure would benefit the natives themselves would depend upon how wisely it was administered.

539 ## FOOD IS THE DAILY PROBLEM

Era vei talanoa, era nggoro
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruoso
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.

They were very much surprised
When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
And anchored near the village.
The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo,*
The scent of *makita*[34] creeps into the village
And fills it with fragrance.

From an ancient dance, Kambara.

773 261 THE KAMBARANS have a legend of Mburotu, the golden paradise isle of the departed, inhabited by extremely beautiful maidens with light skins like the Tongans. Mburotu is covered with fragrant plants and fruit trees on which the eternally ripe fruit hangs in golden clusters waiting to be picked. As soon as one fruit is picked another appears in its place. But Mburotu is only a wish fulfillment dream in striking contrast to the harsh reality of the everyday world. Food is still the immediate and daily recurring problem on the limestone islands (including Kambara) where garden land is scarce and natural resources limited. This is rendered more acute on account of the porous nature of the soil and lack of fresh water, which makes drought a frequent menace, and on account of devastating hurricanes which cause great destruction of crops and property.

[34] *Mamba, mothelolo,* and *makita* are sweet smelling plants.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 ago, Ndengei, who was then a man, and his companions
776 landed at Vunda on the west coast of Viti Levu after a long
618 sea voyage. The group moved along the coast and finally settled on the Nakauvandra range in the northern interior. From here the descendants of Ndengei moved into most of eastern Fiji. The migration into southern Lau was led by Ndaunisai (pronounced En-daú-ni-sai), a descendant of Ndengei. Ndaunisai founded the upper class in Lau, and today he ranks next to Ndengei among the heavenly hosts. Then come other forefathers of the noble class according to rank.

769 The ancestral gods of each clan were incarnated in a species
618 of tree, a species of fish, and a species of bird. It was tabu for clan members to eat or harm them and this tabu is upheld by some Lauans today. There is no evidence that the gods in Lau were represented by carved wooden or stone images.

565 The lower class in Lau participated in the outer form of the
769 ancestor cult but never accepted its inner content. Although
618 each clan had its gods, temples, and priests, the clan gods of
776 the lower class apparently consisted of spirits who had never lived on earth, rather than ghosts of departed ancestors, and they did not appear in the celestial hierarchy of gods. Just as the commoners maintained their clan divisions, so they retained also their *clan deities in spite of the influence of the nobles.*

565 The commoners of each island formerly believed in their
773 local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal which was a totem. There are no other stories of their origin and no migration tales concerning them. The lower class of Kambara, for example, believed in its local
[824] origin from a *ngingia* (pronounced ngi-ngí-a) tree (*Suriana maritima*) located near the beach north of Undu. The tree is still sacred to the commoners. In times of trouble, offerings of kava and food are still made at the base of this tree, which is kept free of underbrush. The red shark is the incarnation of the god of the Kambara commoners. It is the guardian of the lower class of Kambara, and no commoner even today

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

may kill, harm, or eat it. The appearance of the red shark is still considered a good omen, and it is propitiated frequently from canoes or on the beach with offerings of food, kava or wreaths. It was also tabu for commoners of Kambara to kill or eat the red rooster.

Members of the upper class formerly believed that all the inhabitants of the Lau islands journeyed after death to a jumping-off place called Nai Thimbathimba (pronounced Nai Thim'-ba-thim'-ba) on the west or northwest side of each island, and from there sailed by canoe to Nai Thombothombo (pronounced Nai Thom'-bo-thom'-bo) at the extreme western end of Vanua Levu. The commoners, on the other hand, believed in a local abode of the dead.

This was the native outlook on life at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the first Christian missionaries to Fiji landed at Lakemba.

THE CANNIBALS ARE CONVERTED

Endua na kunea maivei na mbula?
Sa na kunei mai Mburotu Kula

Where shall we find the life?
It is to be found in the Red Paradise.
From the teachings of Navosavakandua[49]

The Christian gospel, based on the importance of the spiritual life of the individual, on monotheism, and on brotherly love, presented a striking contrast to the more worldly native outlook on life which the missionaries encountered in Fiji. Christian ideals such as peace, the sanctity of human life, and monogamy were equally foreign to the Fijian before contact with the west. The missionaries introduced the idea of heaven and hell with the word "devil" (*tevoro*) into native ideology. They reduced the native hierarchy of ancestor gods to a hierarchy of devils ruled by the all powerful Christian

[48] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., p. 251.

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Lau, just eighty years ago, were strictly forbidden, perhaps wisely in those early days, to talk about anything at all connected with their old mythology. So that as children they did not hear from their mothers the old tales that even one generation before would have been so freely told to them.

However, in those islands where no resident missionary was stationed, the rule was not so strictly enforced, and it is there that I have been able to collect some of the most interesting stories.

Stories of the gods are ethnologically the most fascinating of all, especially among a totemistic people; and the Polynesians in a general sense were ancestor-worshippers, and held sacred certain beasts, birds, and fishes, wherein dwelt their gods; although they never set up special idols to them, as the Papuan *race seems to have* done. The value of an old legend—when established and corroborated—for purposes of ethnological investigation is immense, but on the other hand there is always the danger that an imperfect legend may lead one very much astray by setting one's feet upon a track which proves false, and only takes one farther away the more one pursues it. An amusing instance of this occurred not long ago. I was investigating the old snake legend of Vulaga Island (an island, incidentally, on which no snakes are ever found). A man told

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me his *Kalou Vu*—his ancestral god—was a red serpent, and that Vulaga was *Tauvu*—of common origin—with Totoya Island (where snakes are found). So far so good. I then asked him if he knew the name of this *Kalou Vu*. He replied, "His name was that of the Chief of all the Devils, the Blessed Pope!" Thinking that this was rather strong partizanship for even the most ardent Wesleyan, I asked again, and this time he pronounced it a little differently, as "Bilesi Popu." He then said it was well-known in the Bible, and all at once it flashed across me—"Beelzebub."

But here one sees the error one can so easily fall into. This man had, with some confusion, read in his Bible of Beelzebub and also of serpents, and consequently adopted, quite wrongly, this name for the ancient *Kalou Vu* of his race. For I certainly do not think there has yet been discovered surviving among either Papuans or Polynesians any distinct names of the old gods of Asia, although many of the ancient customs of Syrians, Jews, etc., point to a branch of these races having wandered from Asia *via* the Malay Islands to the Pacific. I refer to such things as Circumcision, the legend of the Ark and eight survivors, the legend of the Dove, the legend of the Tower of Babel, the Arab custom of striking the open mouth with the flat hand to denote

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A HAUNTED ISLE OF THE SOUTH SEAS.

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LEGENDS connected with death and "the mysterious beyond" are the most likely ones in a primitive people to show in which direction their ancestral home lay, and thus we have the very clear legend of the "jumping-off place" (after death) of the Fijians (Papuans) and the north-west to which they jump, as the direction of their origin, their *Burotu* or Paradise.

Now in Lau, curiously enough, we have several legends pointing to *Burotu* in the south and south-east, the opposite direction. There are the queer little burnt-out fishing-torches, with curious twisted handles of the red-leafed *Qai Kula*, "which all know to be the great almond-tree that grows at *Burotu*." These were said to have been frequently seen in the olden times drifting up with the current towards Matuku Island from the south-east. Then there is the enchanted island of *Burotu* itself, that might be sometimes seen in those days shimmering on the surface of the sea at such times as there was a hazy calm, and out in the empty space of water towards the

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773 south-east. This island was said by the Matuku people to be inhabited only by beautiful girls, and to have sweet-singing birds among marvellous trees that bore fruit continually all the year round. (Is this one more survival of the legends of their eastern ancestry—in other words, the "paradise with beautiful houris" that the nations of the East looked forward to?)

This tale of the island Burotu ran north to Bau, and so inflamed that adventurous spirit Ratu Mara[1] that, like a knight-errant of old, he started forth and swore he would find Burotu or perish in the attempt. As a matter of fact he did neither, but the story at all events shows how earnestly he believed in it.

[101] Then there is a nearly extinct tribe to this day *at Matuku, called* the Burotu people, living on the side of the island facing the south-east, and they think that their earliest ancestors came from Burotu.

The spirit island of Bulotu is also said to be seen lying in the south-east, from the mountain-tops of Kadavu Island.

171 773 (And, strangely enough, a Burota[2] of the Tongans is the island of Eua, which again lies to the south-east of Tonga-tabu, indicating a general origin of Tongans and South Lauans from the east and south-east. Mariner asserted that

[1] Half-brother to Cakabau, the last King of Fiji.
[2] The letters R and L in the South Seas are often interchangeable.

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Bulotu lay to the north-west of Tonga (which is the true direction of Fiji), but several Tongans have told me of a rumoured ancient Bulotu at Eua Island, and the Tongans would seem to have more likely come from the east than from the "negroid stock" to the north-west.

Fison[1] gives a legend telling that the Lauan Bulotu was near Nasali, an empty reef near the Tuvana Islands, south of Ono; and how two captured gods nearly prevented the Levuka people reaching Ono, and entirely denied access to Bulotu, chanting,

> "Tuvana inland, Tuvana below
> Nasali is plainly in sight,
> Bulotu, we two are hiding it";

but there the story ended, with the escape of these two gods.

In the course of conversation with an old man of Ono Island I came across a fragment of the continuation of this legend; and on making further enquiries on other visits there I was able to collect enough to piece together the connected story, which received remarkable corroboration from an old man who left Ono many years ago as a child, but still remembers the tale as told him by his grandmother. This is the story as he told it to me, filled in as to certain minor details from the broken legends of the others.

[1] In "Tales from Old Fiji."

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I must have been sleeping. That was a bad dream, that one. It seems to me it would be well to make a feast for Ligadua while I think of it.'

"So he turned to a man near by and told him to beat the great drum to summon a meeting of the people at once to discuss the matter of this feast. The man went over to the drum, and picked up the two heavy *yavayava* (mallets) and started to ring the call for a meeting of the people. But not a sound came forth. He looked at the sticks, and looked at the drum, and then he struck again. Still it was silent. Then he threw down the sticks in fear and fled. Tui Matokano was very angry, and shouted, 'Fool, why don't you do as I tell you,' and he himself went across to the drum and started to beat it. Still no sound came from it. Then Tui Matokano sat down in dead silence, and all the people waited, for they knew that it was truly Ligadua that they had seen. And as they waited they heard a faint sound from the direction of far away Tuvana Island, the home of Ligadua; and it was the ghost of their great drum that they heard, and it seemed to mock them as they listened.

"And never again would the true drum at Matokano speak, though often on a calm night one may hear his soul speaking from Tuvana, and it is said that Ligadua is summoning his

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demons when one hears it. And the people at Matokano named their drum *Sagasagawalé*, which means 'All our work for nothing.' *Sagasagawalé* was still standing at Matokano town when my father was a young man, for he saw it, though it had then nearly rotted away."

The *Yaqona* was now prepared, and a young man brought me the first cup, holding it up with both hands; and all called out "*Maca*" when I had drunk; for even in the most informal gatherings the people never omit the due ceremonies connected with *Yaqona* drinking.

THE GHOSTLY HEAD OF ULUPOKA.

Then when the others had each had their drink I asked if the gods always flew, or how did they get from place to place? I heard one man, the island constable, who owned the appropriate name of "Jonetani Gucake" (Jonathan the Zealous), whisper something about "Ulupoka."

"Well, Jonetani, and what about Ulupoka?" I asked.

Then Jonetani settled himself comfortably on his crossed legs, tailor fashion, and said:

"In the old times we of Ono had a god (and I have heard that he was also a god of Lakeba) called 'Ulupoka.' But he was *dua na ka rerevaka dina* (a fearsome thing of awe), and was

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Sometimes there are over a hundred fish caught at one fishing; and 'tis indeed wonderful how they live and breathe in that mud. Then the fish are divided out, and half of them go to Tui Mavana and his *mataqali*, and half of them to the priest and his *mataqali*."

"And are these fish found nowhere else?" I asked.

"At Masomo and in Tonga only are they found, sir," was the reply. "And their coming was as follows," he went on. "There was a goddess who lived at Tonga "*dua na Marama rairai vinaka sara dina*" (a lady the most beautiful ever seen), and she fell in love with a god at Laucala, which is, as you know, not in the Lau Islands at all, but at Cakaudrove, in Fiji. And one day she decided to take him a present of the finest fish that could be found in all the world, and that was the *yawa*, the fish that lived at one of her smaller islands at Tonga. So she made a leaf basket and placed five or six fine live fish in it, and flew off on her long journey to Laucala. And on the way the fish began to wriggle about, and presently found a small opening at the bottom of the basket. And then their leader said, 'Come, brothers, help me force open this gap, for perchance we may thus drop into the sea and swim back to Tonga.' So they wriggled and nosed about and pushed at the

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opening until at last the strand gave way with a snap, and all the lot of them fell through. But the goddess happened to be passing over Masomo just then, and not over the sea, so that the fish fell on the grass and lay there gasping. 539* 773 776

"The goddess flew on, not knowing what had happened; but when she arrived at Laucala great was her dismay on turning out her basket to find nothing but some bits of mud and leaves and a few fish-scales. And the god at Laucala thought she had been making a fool of him, and was angry and would have nothing to do with her.

"So she flew sadly back to Tonga, weeping bitterly as she went. And most of her tears fell into the sea; but as she passed Masomo, some of them fell there, where the fish lay. And they were not enough to form a pool of water, but just enough to make the ground marshy, and that is why the fishing place is a swamp to-day. And the fish-scales may still be seen at Laucala, looking like dusty glass."[1]

THE GOD WHO STOLE THE WATER FROM MOALA ISLAND.

"There was another carrying of goods between Tonga and the Lau Islands," said a man who had not yet spoken; "but that was no accident, but a thing of purpose." [115]

[1] Probably mica.

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"What was that, Jale?" said the Doi chief, taking a fire-brand to light his *suluka*.

"I don't know the tale very well," replied Jale; "for it was told me by my mother, and she only heard it from *her* mother, who was a woman of Moala Island. But I think it ran as follows:

"Long before the *Gauna Vakatoga* (the time of the Tongan occupation) there were occasional visitors from Tonga in canoes that were blown out of their course. And sometimes these people were killed, and sometimes—if there were many armed men in the canoe—they were met in a friendly spirit and entertained till they could return to their own land. And thus a Tongan canoe once came to Moala Island.

"And when they were about to return, the Chief of Moala gave to the Chief of the Tongans his daughter, Roko-vaka-ola, to wife. And Roko-vaka-ola was very beautiful, and had found favour in the eyes of Kubu-ni-vanua, the great god of Moala. And she wept and entreated her father that she might not be sent to Tonga; but her father was secretly afraid of the Tongan chief, and she had to go. And so she was taken to live at Tungua Island, where her Tongan husband gave her a fine house and all that she could desire.

"But still she was not happy, and wept often

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when by herself. And one day Kubu-ni-vanua heard her weeping, and flew over to Tonga, and asked her what it was that troubled her. Then she said, 'Take me back to my home at Moala. I do not like this land. It is dry and bare, and there is very little food, and not even fresh water to drink. (For Tungua was like many of the Lau Islands in that it had no water; though Moala, as you know, sir, had always fine running streams.)

"'I cannot take you back to Moala,' said Kubu-ni-vanua, 'but I can bring you water, and perhaps even some Dalo for food.' At this she looked up and smiled, and Kubu-ni-vanua felt that he must do this thing for her at once.

"So he flew back to Moala and went to the place called Matamatakalou, which is near to Cakova town, and he took a great Dalo leaf and twisted it into a cup and filled it at the spring there. Then he flew off again with it to Tonga and left it on the ground outside the house of Roko-vaka-ola. And in the morning when she went out she found a beautiful spring just outside her door, with water clear and bright and very cold; and by the side of the spring, where the Dalo leaf had lain, there were already some fine Dalo plants growing up. Then was Roko-vaka-ola happy indeed, and from that day she ceased to pine.

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*539 "And this, sir, is a curious thing. You will
● 773 find exactly the same sort of trees and shrubs
776 at Tungua as you will find round Matamatakalou;
and further, only at Tungua in the whole of Tonga
will you find these things."

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THE DUEL 'TWEEN GOD AND GHOST.

I WAS riding along the white beaches of Cicia Island with my native magistrate, after a very trying day in the provincial courts, deciding such trifling points (though important to the natives) as alleged thefts of copra, petty assaults —with scores of contrary witnesses on each side— or cases of conjugal infidelity, and was already feeling refreshed and invigorated by a swift canter against the evening breeze. Reining up as we came to a patch of sea-worn pebbles and stones, with here and there a knob of filagree branching coral over which our horses stepped gingerly, my friend Wiliami turned to me and said:

"Just there, sir, by the roadside, you may perhaps see among the palm-trees an upright stone. That is the throne of Rata Maibula, the ancient god of Tarakua town, who was worsted in the great duel with the ghost of Ratu Koli."

Scenting a good legend, and knowing Wiliami of old as one who had the judicial mind, and an unbiassed view-point—despite his brown skin—I thought that here was an opportunity to get

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hold of one of the old pieces of native mythology unadorned with the modern interpretations that are so frequently put to them, and events proved that I was not mistaken.

"You must know, sir," he began, "that I am truly a man of Lakeba Island, but my grandmother was of this place, and from her, when a boy, I heard the tale of the god, Ratu Maibula, and the ghost, Ratu Koli. And this is what she told me:

"In the very early days there were two towns up on the hill-crest there, overlooking the sea towards the setting sun, and their names were Na Vuwai and Watika. Always were there great matters of dispute between these towns, till one day the men of Na Vuwai arose, and making their way by stealth among the trees they came upon the people of Watika, and slew them; so that none remained but some few of the Naibili tribe, who chanced to be out fishing on the reefs below. These were saved by a *Latui*,[1] who circled round and round the burning houses, and then swooped down to the men of Naibili, crying out in great grief, and calling their attention to the smoke rising on the hill-top. This, sir, was because the Latui was the Kalou Vu[2] of the Naibili tribe.

"And in the course of time they moved down

[1] Hawk. [2] Ancestral god.

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to the flat plain on the sea-coast—taking with them the remnant of the Naibili people—and there they founded a new town, which was first called Na Vuwai,[1] but which after the victory of Koli's ghost they named Maibula, in honour of Ratu Maibula, although in truth he was the god of Lagatea town, some distance away. And the change of name came about in this manner.

"Ratu Koli of the Walakewa tribe was in his lifetime a hard man, fierce and angry, but of mighty strength and skilled in all weapons. Great was the fear of his people when Koli arose in wrath and smote whom he willed, and many were the whisperings in the *bures* by the fireside when the nights were dark and Koli slept, yet none dared to strike. One day, however, a woman taunted her husband so that he summoned up his courage, and with certain others went along to Lagatea town to consult the god, Ratu Maibula, whose temple was at that place.

"And it so happened that the men of Lagatea were at that time building a new home for their god, and the big posts of his house were being let into their pits. A great throng of people had gathered round, and with much shouting and straining the last post had just been lowered into place.

"Then advanced the Na Vuwai men, crouching

[1] To this day the people of Mabula town make use of the old name "Na Vuwai" in ceremonial feasts.

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and trembling at what they were about to do, and in great fear of the god. And they offered a root of *Yaqona* as is the custom. Then they prepared a bowl of it with all ceremony; and, kneeling, poured a libation into the post-hole, calling on the god to aid them against Ratu Koli. And after that they returned home, but told no man of what they had done.

"Now, that same night Ratu Koli was troubled with dreams and a fever entered into him. And in the morning great was his illness, so that within three days he died. But as he was about to die he opened his eyes and sat up, crying out, "I know you, Ratu Maibula, 'tis you alone that have worked this evil upon me." And then he fell back dead. And when his *burua*[1] was ended the people of Na Vuwai breathed again and their heaviness of spirit left them. And soon they went about their work as usual and had almost forgotten their fears of Ratu Koli. But when the *Bogi drau*[2] arrived they carried out the ceremonies proper to a great chief. And these were nearly finished when a boy came running and informed them that one of their great canoes that had been hauled up at a place some distance away from the town was in danger of drifting off with the high tide. So a party of young men was sent to see to it. And the place where the

[1] Funeral ceremony.
[2] Memorial ceremony on the one hundredth night.

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canoes had been left was called Nuku Nuku and was about half-way to Lagatea town.

"And when they had hauled the canoe up into safety and were sitting down on the beach to rest, looking over the still waters, they heard a rustling in the bushes behind them; and a great fear filled them, for, on turning round they plainly saw in the moonlight Ratu Koli stepping out into a little clearing, painted, and armed as for war, with his great battle-club on his shoulder. And coming from the direction of Lagatea there appeared Ratu Maibula, who was also carrying his club, as was the custom in those days. And they knew him for the god, for they were again filled with a strange trembling when they saw him; and they heard Ratu Koli cry out, hoarsely challenging, saying, 'Ho, Ratu Maibula, whither goest?'

"Then Ratu Koli smote the ground in anger with his club, so that the whole earth shook, and said, 'Thou shalt surely die to-night.'

"And Ratu Maibula advanced and taunted Ratu Koli, saying, 'What is this small thing I see? Who is it that dares to speak to me?'

Great, then, was the wrath of Ratu Koli, and he fell upon the god and they fought furiously together. The noise of their weapons meeting was like thunder, and the swift gleams of the oiled clubs were like lightning flashes. Long lasted

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*539 ●773 the fight, and the men of Na Vuwai lay looking on, prostrate with fear. At last there was a terrible crash and Ratu Maibula was stricken on one knee to the ground; and holding up his club with both hands to ward off the blows he cried out to Ratu Koli and *soro'd*[1], and offered to be the god for the Na Vuwai people also, and to assist them in war, if only he might be spared and still live in his temple at Lagatea. But the ghost of Ratu Koli answered, 'Nay. My law to thee is that thou shalt go to Na Vuwai and remain there as its god, and the town shall be called Maibula, that all may know I have ordered this thing.'

"And Ratu Maibula was forced to consent to this, and thus it is that we now know that town as Mabula—or Maibula, as it was called in the times of our fathers. Then Ratu Koli, with a loud laugh, turned towards Na Vuwai, and was seen no more; and when the men on the beach looked towards the place where Ratu Maibula had been he also was gone.

"Now, Lagatea town was in those early days divided into three parts, namely, Tarakua-leka, Yarovi, and Sawana. And after Ratu Maibula had left it was necessary for some one at Lagatea to take up the title of Tui Cicia, so Ra Salato of the Vunisea tribe did so. But it was not long before two chiefs of Yarovi, named Mataselia

[1] Craved pardon.

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and Laligavoki, plotted against him and slew him; and Mataselia was therefore *buli'd*[1] as Tui Cicia. And Mataselia well knew the power of Ratu Koli, and how he had defeated Ratu Maibula, so he *vaka rorogo'd*[2] to him as the *Kalou Levu*[3] of Lagatea, as by this time the people of Mabula had done also.

"Mataselia was killed at the great battle at Nayau Island, when the men of Lakeba met the men of Cicia there; but of that I must speak on some other day. And on Mataselia's death Laligavoki was made Tui Cicia. He also was killed before long, as also was another Tui Cicia whose name I forget. And the killing of this same Tui Cicia was as follows:

"Some men of the Butoni tribe came for a *solevu*,[4] to Lagatea and many of them married Lagatea women and stayed on there, building a town for themselves at a place they called Butoni, just where the "Company's"[5] manager's house is now. And after a time they grew jealous of the Lagatea men, and a hatred arose within them. So they devised a scheme. They sent messages to the Tui Cicia to say they wished to perform a *méké*[6] and bring gifts to Lagatea, and on the appointed day they arrived and the *méké* was held at that place I showed you, where

[1] Appointed. [2] Acknowledged his supremacy. [3] Chief god.
[4] A ceremonial interchange of gifts; practically a trading expedition.
[5] The M.I.E.P. Copra Company. [6] Dance.

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*539 ● 773 the stone was. Now, it was the custom always of the Tui Cicia to sit on this stone looking on when *mékés* were performed, or at the *Tiqa*[1] matches; and Tui Cicia was there this day. When the men of Butoni came on to the *rara*[2] in front of this stone they started their *méké*, a very fine one with *Dakai*[3] clubs, and about the middle of it, when the onlookers were crying out '*Vinaka, vinaka*,'[4] their leader gave a signal and they rushed on Tui Cicia and the chiefs who were sitting near him and clubbed them to death; and the place is called 'Na Wesi Dakai,' or 'the place of the club dance,' to this day.

"And no Tui Cicia was *buli'd* for a long time after this, as all feared to be called by that title, for it seemed of bad omen. But, at length, some one consulted the priest of Ratu Maibula, and he told them that it was not the title of 'Tui Cicia' that brought evil with it, but that Tui Cicia had been making use of the stone that had always been *tabu*[5] to Ratu Maibula. And [753] [778] after that the stone was set up on end and left there and none dared touch it again. And it is now known that if one touches that stone his hand withers and rots, and he will in course of time surely die."[6]

[1] Spear throwing. [2] Village green.
[3] With special shaped heads not unlike the stock of a musket.
[4] Good, good. [5] Sacred or forbidden to others.
[6] I was much interested in the remarks about the stone, as it occurred to me that this might be regarded by the natives as one of the stones alleged to cause leprosy, about which the Hon. Bolton Corney, I.S.O., late Chief Medical Officer of Fiji, has written a monograph.

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the iron tools that you white chiefs brought to Fiji far surpass our ancient axes in hardness, though that stone you hold is indeed a hard one, almost hard enough to hurt the children of Rasikilau." And then she told me the story of Rasikilau the Mighty, and from that went on to tales of the other gods of the Exploring Isles[1] till the lengthening shadows at the house-door made me realize with a start how long I had spent listening to these legends, told by the lips of the last of the old people who still held personal belief in them.

"In the days before the first foreign ship came to Lau," she began, lighting a *suluka*[2] with a small fire-brand, "there lived on Cikobia Island over yonder a god called Rasikilau, whose movements shook the hills when he walked, and whose head reached the tops of the highest palm-trees. Even now, when the men of Cikobia lie out on the beach on hot nights, they can sometimes feel the earth tremble, and they know that Rasikilau is moving near them.

"Now, Rasikilau mated with a goddess, a princess beautiful to see, who came sailing in a canoe from far away to the north,[3] so far that no man has ever known the name of that land;

[1] Vanua Balavu and a few adjacent islets of northern Lau.
[2] Native cheroot.
[3] Probably part of the legend that the Cikobia of Lau people are *tauvu*, or of common ancestry, with the people of Cikobia i Ita, an island to the north of Fiji.

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and in course of time they had two children, boys of great beauty and strength. So powerful were these boys that they were wont to pull up the *mamakara* trees by the roots to make their clubs of, which, as you know, sir, is not a thing to be done by the men of to-day. And when they played it was their custom to divide the island between them, and, standing at the two ends, to throw pebbles from one to the other in their sport, for they had no *dawa* fruit in those days to play with, as boys on other islands have. And Rasikilau looked on them with pride.

"But there came a day when the boys disputed about a fish that they had caught, and their spirit grew hot within them, so much so that one of them took up a big stone and threw it at his brother in anger. And then they started to heave mighty rocks at each other from afar off, but the great stones merely burst against their heads where they struck. Thus it has become a saying amongst us, 'As hard as the heads of Rasikilau's children.'

"But Rasikilau had come upon them suddenly through the trees, and had observed all this, and great was his fear as he saw it. For, thought he, if my sons are strong like this when they are still but boys, they will surely overpower me when they grow up, and cast me out of my island. So, without further thought, he rushed in between

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*539 •773 776 them and catching each by the hair he dashed their heads together, and they fell down dead.

"But after he had done this his heart was troubled within him, and going home to his wife, he said, '*Sobo!* A dreadful thing has just happened. Our sons have learnt to play with stones, and but now they have slain each other in anger with great boulders.'

"Loud was the wailing of the mother, and she refused to be comforted; and for many days she stayed in the house, only going forth each morning to tend the graves of her sons. And Rasikilau was sad at heart when he saw this; but he kept silence as to what he had truly done.

"Now, one day, Koroibo, the god who lived on Munia Island across the lagoon, heard of Rasikilau's troubles, and came across in a canoe to see him and bring him gifts. And when he landed on the beach he saw the *mamakara* trees for the first time—for he had none on Munia. '*Isa*,' said he, 'this is a fine shady tree to sit under, and the timber of it seems to me to be as fine as any wood I have yet seen.' And his longing to have the *mamakaras* for his own grew great within him.

"So he devised a scheme, and in the evening, after they had fed, he said to Rasikilau, 'Oh, Tui Cikobia (for he was also called Lord of Cikobia), if you had had the *dawa* trees on your island this evil would never have happened, for

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your children would have only thrown the soft fruit at each other, as other children do. And if you should have more children it is plain that the same thing will happen again.' 539* 773 776

"'True are your words, Koroibo,' replied the other. 'But what can I do? I have no *dawa* trees on my island, and where can one procure such things in these parts?'

"'My spirit is heavy within me for thinking of you, Tui Cikobia,' said Koroibo; 'and I, who have *dawa* trees will make you a present of all of them; and you shall give me your *mamakara* trees to take to Munia.'

"'So be it,' said Rasikilau. And forthwith they made the exchange, mixing a bowl of *Yaqona* to seal the bargain.

But of little avail to Rasikilau were the *dawa* trees, for his wife refused to be comforted, and soon afterwards she died. While Koroibo quickly lamented the loss of his fine fruit, and to this day he sits sorrowfully beneath his *mamakara* trees; and sometimes you may hear a sigh as you pass a cluster of them in one of the valleys of Munia. For never again did the *dawa* grow on Munia Island or the *mamakara* on Cikobia."

"But are these gods never seen nowadays?" 776 I asked.

"No," replied the old lady, a little doubtfully. "Have not the missionaries brought the light of